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"A BRAVE VESSEL DASH'D ALL TO PIECES"
The Tempest, I, 2.
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Shakespeare: A Person[1]

By HENRY DAVID GRAY

IN paying our tribute today to the memory of Shakespeare, I should like to ask you to consider with me not the great plays and poems that he has left us but the man who wrote them, the man whose actual birth into this actual world we are now celebrating. Let us think for a few moments not of a "sublime bard clothed in radiance" but of a man who wore his doublet and hose very much as other men of the time wore theirs; not of the supreme genius who "trod the sunlit heights and teemed with lofty thoughts," but of the player who left the Globe theatre after a rehearsal to splash along the streets of London, and thought things that wouldn't bear recording about the London weather. I would not detract from his greatness—far from it; but I want, as far as I can, to put the man himself before you.

Of his personality we have even scantier records from his own time than we have of his life; but I should like to call your attention to the fact that all of them agree in bringing out one or both of two characteristics of Shakespeare's: his friendliness and his honesty. Chettle, in answer to Greene's "upstart crow" attack, speaks of his civil demeanor and "his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty." You remember also Ben Jonson's tribute containing the words, "He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature." Aubrey and Rowe were close enough in time to record impressions that seem to be based on first-hand sources. The former says, "He was a handsome, well-shaped man, very good company, and of a very ready and pleasant smooth wit." And Rowe: "He was in himself a good-natured man, of great sweetness in his manners, and a most agreeable companion."

From our knowledge of his life, and some early traditions about him, it is assumed, with fairly good warrant, that he was rather wild in his youth and distinctly practical in middle life. Attempts have been made to prove him a snob. The argument is too involved to go into at this time; I must merely record my emphatic opinion that Shakespeare was instinctively an aristocrat, and I think it is not going too far to say that *therefore,* he was not a snob. It does seem from his plays that he had a peculiarly sensitive nose; but if a mass of smelly people offended Shakepeare's nostrils, that is hardly to be held to his discredit. Wouldn't most of us here go down on such a count? He was

[1] Address at the Shakespeare Birthday celebration of the English-Speaking Union in San Francisco.

much concerned about securing a coat-of-arms, and when he retired he collected his debts and settled down in the finest house in Stratford; which means that he had no intention at all of being imposed upon, and that he regarded it as quite justifiable for a man to get on in the world and command the respect of his fellows.

The case for and against Shakespeare's snobbishness is based primarily upon his attitude as seen in the dramas, epecially *Coriolanus,* and that involves the question as to whether or not it is a legitimate thing to try to get at Shakespeare's character through his work. He is generally regarded as a thorougly objective dramatist, whose plays must be read without any implications drawn as to the man who wrote them. His objectivity has become a fetish. We know that Molière, Goethe, Ibsen wrote dramas that were based on their own experiences and show their own attitudes of mind, but we tend to regard Shakespeare as a being who existed apart from his own world, however he might choose to manipulate his creatures. We are Shakespeare-deists! It is certainly possible to go too far in the other direction, as the late Frank Harris did; but good reasons can be given for believing that Shakespeare did put much of himself into his work, and that from his work, rightly considered, we may safely deduce certain definite conclusions regarding the man. Ben Jonson, who knew well both the dramas and the man who wrote them, says in his tribute in the First Folio:

> Look how the father's face
> Lives in his issue; even so the race
> Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines
> In his well turned and true-filed lines.

One thing reassures us in attempting to follow Ben Jonson's lead. We know, as I have said, that friendliness and honesty were two of Shakespeare's characteristics. But if we had only the dramas to go to, we would arrive at exactly the same conclusion.

Shakespeare never tries to win sympathy for his hero by making him stand alone and friendless. He isolates Shylock but surrounds Antonio with a host of friends. He isolates Malvolio and puts us on the side of the crowd that torments him. He gives Falstaff every fault you can think of, he makes him a perfectly outrageous old reprobate, and makes us love him because of his sociability. When Macbeth realizes that he has ruined his life and must pay the penalty for his crimes and cruelty, he says with hopeless bitterness:

> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, *troops of friends,*
> I must not look to have.

We find, too, that open-heartedness characterizes the heroes whom we like best. Hamlet, when the fatal duel is to be fought, may easily be imposed upon, because, the king tells Laertes,

> He, being remiss,
> Most generous and free from all contriving,
> Will not peruse the foils.

Othello "is of a free and open nature, that thinks men honest," says Iago, using the very words that Ben Jonson was to apply to Shakespeare himself, "He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature." Dishonesty and subtlety, on the other hand, are attributed to the characters we most despise and hate: Don John in *Much Ado,* Iago, Angelo in *Measure for Measure,* Iachimo in *Cymbeline.* It is of course the frequency, the persistence, with which these contrasts are emphasized that lead us to conclude from a study of the plays that Shakespeare was an honest and companionable person.

Now, if it is true that what we *know* about Shakespeare's character from his life and the comments of his personal friends do find expression in his work, is it not also true that other characteristics which we can discover from his work must likewise have characterized the man? In one matter, at least, I am confident that we can add from a consideration of the dramas a strongly marked trait of Shakespeare the person: he had a violent antipathy to fops and and foppishness. Before attempting to prove this, let me call attention to the fact that we get no reaction of personal animosity when Shakespeare is dealing with mere stupidity. Shakespeare apparently was not annoyed by fools, as Carlyle was; he was amused by them. He seems rather to like his simple-minded people, such as Costard in *Love's Labour's Lost;* he certainly was himself amused and not irritated by his Launcelot Gobbo. Even with such utter asses as Dogberry or Sir Andrew Aguecheek, the ridicule that Shakespeare heaps upon them is completely goodnatured. But there is a very different story to tell whenever a fop is mentioned. In *Henry IV* Hotspur accounts for his neglect of the king's message in a description that runs to over thirty lines of a certain lord, neat, trimly dressed, perfumed like a milliner, who smiled and daintily took snuff while the soldiers bore dead bodies by,—a popinjay who talked with many holiday and lady terms about how he would have been a soldier if it weren't for these vile guns! In this case the passage, though so

extended and emotional, is dramatically appropriate, and should be put down at once as characterizing the attitude of Hotspur, not of Shakespeare. But in *Love's Labour's Lost* we have a similar description of Boyet, who does not appear in the rest of the drama to be at all this sort of person. The passage is dramatically inappropriate. Of the twenty-line speech I quote only this:

> 'A can carve too, and lisp; why, this is he
> That kissed his hand away in courtesy;
> This is the ape of form, monsieur the nice,
> That when he plays at tables, chides the dice
> In honorurable terms; . . . the ladies call him sweet.
> The stairs, as he treads on them, kiss his feet.
> This is the flower that smiles on everyone,
> To show his teeth as white as whale's bone.

In *Romeo and Juliet* Mercutio gives a like account of the fiery Tybalt, a character who distinctly stands out as not at all like the description. Its obvious inappropriateness can be accounted for only by Shakespeare's own antipathy to the sort of man described:

> The pox of such antic, lisping, affecting fantasticoes; these new tuners of accents! "By Jesu, a very good blade, a very tall man, a very good whore!" Why, is not this a lamentable thing, grandsire, that we should be thus afflicted with these strange flies, these fashion-mongers, these pardona-mi's, who stand so much on the new form that they cannot sit at ease on the old bench? O, their 'bones, their 'bones!'

You will recall the character of Osric as a graphic representation of the type. When he enters Hamlet turns to Horatio and asks, "Dost know this water-fly?"

> *Horatio*: No, my good lord.
> *Hamlet*: Thy state is the more gracious.

That the contempt which Hamlet shows is Shakespeare's own contempt seems more than probable from the considerable number of instances in which the same thing appears. Malvolio is made ridiculous by affecting an absurd style of dress, by his perpetual smiling and kissing his hand. The disgusting coward Parolles is stigmatized by Lafeu in a manner that seems entirely apart from our conception of him: "The soul of this man is his clothes," and Cloten, that brutal fool, is scoffed at as a man who is made by his tailor. In the same way the impetuous Kent abuses Oswald as a finical rogue, a barber-monger, and, as a grand climax of his storm of invectives, he bursts out with "A tailor made thee!" These have come into my mind without searching thru the plays for other instances. They are enough to make it very certain

that Shakespeare had an intense antipathy for the fop. You will notice that the instances I cited come from all the periods of his work, and cannot therefore be due to a particular antagonism to an individual. It is noteworthy, too, that it is characters whom we like who give expression to these sentiments: Mercutio, Hamlet, Kent, and, to a less degree, the others also.

This, perhaps, may account for what is one of the most curious things about Shakespeare: his ridicule of poetry and poets. He does not handle genuine poetry and poets; he may have thought that unprofessional. He doesn't "talk shop" in his plays. In the two plays in which he introduces professional poets, *Julius Caesar* and *Timon of Athens*, they are treated with utter contempt.

If you will turn to Bartlett's *Concordance*, you will see that the words "Poem," "Poet," "Poetical," and "Poetry," combined, do not make half a column, while looking on you will find that words which you would not think of as at all usual frequently run to over a column or a page or more than this. He has more references to worms than to poets! The first if not the only passage that occurs to anyone as Shakespeare's tribute to his art is that in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* beginning, "The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling;" and all it says is that it is "airy nothing" to which the poet gives a local habitation and a name. The poet is here grouped with the lunatic and the lover, who are treated with about equal respect in this speech. Not another passage of those listed is even as complimentary as this; most are merely conventional, the rest derogatory.

The word "feign" occurs six times out of the 32 that the words "poet," "poetry" and "poetical" occur. "Alas," says Viola of her speech that Olivia will not let her give, "I took great pains to study it, and 'tis poetical." And Olivia replies, "It is the more like to be feigned." Hotspur, who could not abide a fop, has a like aversion for poets. He says:

> I had rather be a kitten and cry mew
> Than one of these same meter ballad mongers.
> I had rather hear a brazen canstick turned,
> Or a dry wheel grate on the axletree,
> And that would set my teeth nothing on edge,
> Nothing so much as mincing poetry.
> 'Tis like the forced gait of a shuffling nag.

It is interesting to hear poetry thus condemned in good blank verse!

A kindred characteristic of Shakespeare the man that I think shows in his work,—and I believe it is very important in coming at a true understanding of him, is this: Shakespeare was not only not sentimental, he was aggressively anti-sentimental. This might perhaps be deduced from the way he collected his debts; but it shows beyond all question in his work. He never introduces a sentimental heroine. In the comedies where love is most the theme, what sane and healthy girls they are—Portia, Beatrice, Rosalind, Viola; how buoyant, fun-loving; how they keep their sense of humor, which a sentimental person never can! The men, I regret to say, do not fare so well. There is poor Slender in the *Merry Wives* who ejaculates from time to time, "O, sweet Anne Page!" But worse than this, Shakespeare does give us one sentimental hero: Duke Orsino in *Twelfth Night.* People have sometimes wondered how it is that after mooning for Olivia through five full acts, Orsino could turn at the very last minute to another love. The answer is that Shakespeare seems to think a sentimental love can be "scrapped" without the least ado. He takes the same attitude with Romeo, whose sentimental love at the beginning of the play gives place to a real love without offering the least resistance. In the case of Romeo the sentimental strain seems to persist. Shakespeare tries his best to save him: he makes him vanquish Mercutio in a wit combat, and shows him able to kill the fiery Tybalt in a duel. But the trouble is that Shakespeare could not portray with complete sympathy a character with a sentimental tinge. He is more at home when his Henry V, in the most unsentimental wooing on record, says: "I know no ways to mince it in love, but directly to say, I love you . . . and then clap hands and a bargain. How say you, lady? . . . Before God, Kate, I cannot look greenly, nor gasp out my eloquence. . . . If thou canst love a fellow of this temper, Kate, that never looks in his glass for love of anything he sees there, let thine eye be thy cook. . . . If not, to say to thee that I shall die is true, but for thy love, by the Lord, no!" In the same spirit Rosalind, head over heels in love with Orlando, tells him: "Men have died from time to time and worms have eaten them, but not for love." The affair of Benedick and Beatrice is the opposite of sentimental in every minute of it, and we feel that it is the more genuine and lasting on this account.

The critics have sometimes been puzzled by Hamlet's treatment of Ophelia, by his never mentioning her in his soliloquies, by his attitude toward her father when he has killed him, by his ruthless sending of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their doom. Hamlet was Shakespeare's man. Goethe sentimentalized him, and that has colored later impressions of him, but the lack of sentimentality in Shakespeare accounts, I think, for the lack of it in Hamlet.

I might go on to show that Shakespeare was intensely patriotic and that he had very definite ideas about the dissentions of nobles in a time of crisis and about what their attitude toward the king should be. We could trace his feeling about ingratitude, and we could discover very nearly how his sympathy with impulsiveness in Kent should be checked by his aversion to rashness in King Lear himself. Certainly he hated pedantry, calculating selfishness, slyness and subtlety in small-souled and efficient schemers; and just as certainly he loved the careless, big-hearted, impulsive, credulous, companionable man. This is so consistently an attitude toward life that it could not have been assumed merely for dramatic purposes. The heart of Shakespeare is in his work. The man himself can be read—almost the complete man—in his dramas, without turning to his sonnets. Ben Jonson was right. Shakespeare wears no impenetrable mask. We can know the character, the personality, of the man who wrote these plays. We can see him now in his doublet and hose as he leaves that rehearsal at the Globe and looks at the London weather and heads for the Mermaid tavern: there he goes—friendly, honest, open-hearted; courteous but nobody's fool; impulsive, a bit careless in his dress; sane, hearty, unsentimental; vastly amused by the absurdities but intrigued by the mysteries of life; observant, thoughtful, but ready to meet you with a smile. Here's to you, Will Shakespeare! We honor you today,—but what I think would mean more to you if you could know it—we *like* you.

Sonnet for a Mechanical Age

Metallic thundering of driven steel,
Reverberating in a stone ravine,
Assaults the ravished senses till we reel,
Atomic, helpless in a vast machine.
Tumultuous streets' resounding dissonance
Of motor horns and blaring radios
Lead harried man a corybantic dance
Adrift from gracious beauty, from repose.

But Desdemona pleads, Mercutio jests,
Majestic fancies crowd Lear's ruined mind,
Black shadows trail the Thane of Cawdor's guests;
The watch is cold at Elsinore. Oh find
The cloud-capped palaces, the gorgeous rack
Titania rules; and banish not plump Jack!

PAUL FATOUT.

Portia's Belmont Located

By HARRIS JAY GRISTON

I

THOUGH thoughtful students of *The Merchant of Venice* have often wondered where Belmont, the palatial home of Portia, was located, it has been uniformly assumed that it was on the mainland in the northern part of Italy. A number of towns approximately 20 miles from Venice or Padua have from time to time been suggested. Now[1] Mr. William Kittle suggests that it was the Castle of Este, about 20 miles from Padua. But is it reasonable to say that Belmont was so near to Venice?

The location is important, if the chief motivating factor of the plot is to meet the test of plausibility. The plot of the play finds its inception and motivation in Bassanio's dire need of a loan for the financing of a "secret pilgrimage" to Belmont. If Bassanio did not have this need, there would have been no occasion for Antonio's making the loan at a time when he himself is hard pressed for ready cash, his assets being all at sea; and there would have been no need for entering into a bond with Shylock; and there would have been no play. The need for money is vital; the play rests upon it.

When Antonio is informed by Bassanio of his need, he responds that his credit

> "shall be rack'd, even to the uttermost,
> To furnish thee to Belmont, to fair Portia."
> (I. i, 191.) [2]

On Antonio's part such a drastic step must have been motivated by a real need on Bassanio's part.

That the need was indeed real and not fancied, if Bassanio intended to woo Portia in Belmont, may be gathered from a remark he made when Shylock and Antonio were entering into the loan agreement. When Shylock said he would make the loan, and take what was then a usual bond under Table III of the *Roman Civil Law*,[3] Antonio said (I. iii, 157),

> "Content, i'faith: I'll seal to such a bond,
> And say there is much kindness in the Jew."

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[1] William Kittle—"Sidelights on the Setting of *The Merchant of Venice*"—*The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, October, 1931, p. 163.

[2] Text references are to the Furness *Variorum*.

[3] See Harris Jay Griston: *Shaking the Dust from Shakespeare*, (1924; 2d ed.), pp. 42-62.

Bassanio, however, becomes frightened at the terms of the bond and the penalty which Antonio would have to pay in the event of default, and exclaims (I, iii, 159),

> "You shall not seal to such a bond for me:
> I'll rather dwell in my necessity."

Antonio laughs at his friend's fears that the bond might be forfeited. The "necessity" being real to Antonio as well as to Bassanio, the loan is obtained and the bond is signed.

If Belmont were near Venice, would there be any purpose in having Antonio assume such a great risk? Mr. Kittle himself says: "travelers then easily went 50 miles per day with relays" (*Op. cit.*, p. 172).

Surely one need not fit out a ship with sailors and supplies, at great expense, and go heavily in debt for that purpose under a dangerous bond, to travel 20 miles up a river, especially when there are good roads available leading to the same place. It would be like fitting out a ship to go from New York City up the Hudson River to Yonkers, or like equipping a ship to go from London up the Thames River to Hampton Court.

There seems to be no sense in such an expenditure of money, not to mention the trouble incurred and the time wasted.

Is it likely that Antonio would have approved such a lavish and dishonest display of wealth, and such an unnecessary expenditure, as would be the case if Portia lived only some 20 miles away? Is it likely that the creditor would throw good money after bad for such a purpose?

There is only one excuse to be offered for such an elaborate undertaking, to make such a short river trip: the youthful wooer's desire to put on an ostentatious appearance. This would make of Bassanio what is commonly known as a "four-flusher." But Bassanio is "a Venetian, a scholar and a soldier" (I. ii, 108). Indeed, he is a "gentleman" (III. ii, 271) who stands "within the eye of honor" (I, ii, 147).

Not only is it unlikely that Bassanio would go to such extremes, unless it were necessary, or at least highly expedient, but it is obviously a weak excuse for such an important plot element.

Besides, a coach and six was an elaborate mode of travel in those days. Several of these could have made a very impressive entourage. Even the Kings and Queens of England usually traveled from London to their courts, more than 20 miles away, by coach, and not by boat up the river. Several of these coaches and horses could be bought, or even hired, for much less than the cost of a ship, and could surely be fitted out and maintained at much less cost and in much quicker time; and costlier gifts could have been bought for Portia; and all done at a much smaller total outlay than the equipping of the ship.

That is, all of this could have been done, *unless the trip could not have been made by land, and had to be made by ship.*

II

A study of the text indicates that Belmont was not near Venice, but was at a distance of a long voyage. Several passages definitely indicate this, whereas a number of others show this inferentially.

Our first knowledge of Belmont we get from Bassanio's extravagant description of the famous beauty dwelling there:

> "In Belmont is a lady richly left;
> And she is fair and, fairer than that word,
> Of wondrous virtues; sometimes from her eyes
> I did receive fair speechless messages;
> Her name is Portia, nothing undervalued
> To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia:
> Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth,
> For the four winds blow in from every coast
> Renowned suitors; and her sunny locks
> Hang on her temples like a golden fleece;
> Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand,
> And many Jasons come in quest of her.
> O my Antonio, had I but the means
> To hold a rival place with one of them,
> I have a mind presages me such thrift,
> That I should questionless be fortunate!"
>
> (I, i, 170-186.)

This speech of Bassanio's breathes of far distances and of sea voyages. One gains the impression that Portia does not live nearby, but that here is a fabled beauty dwelling in a distant fairyland. It naturally suggests Antonio's response (I, i, 178):

> "Thou know'st that all my fortunes are at sea;"

Bassanio must cross a sea in his quest of the golden fleece.

When Portia discusses her wooers with Nerissa, they mention Bassanio in the following manner (I, ii, 108-118):

> "*Ner.* Do you not remember, lady, in your father's time, a Venetian, a scholar and a soldier that came hither in company of the Marquis of Montferrat?
> *Por.* Yes, yes, it was Bassanio; as I think, he was so called.
> *Ner.* True, madam; he, of all the men that ever my foolish eyes looked upon, was the best deserving a fair lady.
> *Por.* I remember him well, and I remember him worthy of thy praise."

They do not seem to be discussing a neighbor. It seems to have been a long time since the Marquis of Montferrat had visited Belmont, and since Bassanio had been there in the Marquis's company. The lines plainly suggest not only the passing of time but also far distances between Bassanio's home and Belmont.

Portia's suitors had, indeed, come to Belmont "from every coast," and, as Bassanio pointed out, they come by ship—

> "For the four winds blow in from every coast
> Renowned suitors,"

It was the age of the sailboat.

These suitors were almost all, it seems, of noble birth. There was the Neapolitan Prince, the Count Palatine, the French Lord, the young Baron of England, the Scottish Lord, the young German, the Duke of Saxony's nephew, the Prince of Morocco, the Prince of Arragon. It will be observed, that these suitors came from various points on the Mediterranean, and that all of them needed ships, especially those who came from England, Scotland, Arragon and Morocco.

Gratiano begs Bassanio to take him along, saying:

> "You must not deny me: I must go with you to Belmont." (II. ii, 174.)

The general setting in which these words were uttered, clearly indicates that Gratiano wished to join Bassanio on a long trip. If Belmont were near Venice, it would have been a simple matter for Gratiano to have taken a horse and followed Bassanio. If the distance was only some 20 miles, he could have walked there the next day, certainly the next two days, and he would not have been so persistent in his request to be taken along.

Observe, too, the sudden departure that is being made, at 9 o'clock that

night, spoiling the prepared masque. Antonio goes through the streets to collect the passengers for the ship. Meeting Gratiano with his friends, he says (II, vi, 71):

> "Fie, fie, Gratiano! where are all the rest?
> 'T is nine o'clock: our friends all stay for you.
> No masque to-night: the wind is come about;
> Bassanio presently will go abroad:
> I have sent twenty out to seek for you."

Gratiano replies:

> "I am glad on 't: I desire no more delight
> Than to be under sail and gone to-night."

Does that conversation sound like the preparation for a trip up a small river, for a distance of only 20 miles? Does it not seem more like the comments that would be made prior to the beginning of a sea voyage? What would be the need of a wind, if one is merely to go up a river a short distance? And why the rush in setting out on a trip a short distance up a river, and thus spoiling the masque?

A few days later, Salarino and Salanio are discussing Bassanio's departure, and this is their colloquy (II. viii, 1-13):

> "*Salar*: Why, man, I saw Bassanio under sail:
> With him is Gratiano gone along;
> And in their ship I am sure Lorenzo is not.
>
> *Salan.* The villain Jew with outcries raised the duke,
> Who went with him to search Bassanio's ship.
>
> *Salar.* He came too late, the ship was under sail:
> But there the duke was given to understand
> That in a gondola were seen together
> Lorenzo and his amorous Jessica:
> Besides, Antonio certified the duke
> They were not with Bassanio in his ship."

Clearly, the ship was a large one.

The parting between Bassanio and Antonio, as described by Salarino, indicates that Bassanio was to go a long distance, for he describes the parting as follows (II. viii, 30-52):

> "I saw Bassanio and Antonio part:
> Bassanio told him he would make some speed
> Of his return: he answer'd, 'Do not so;
> Slubber not business for my sake, Bassanio,
> But stay the very riping of the time;

> And for the Jew's bond which he hath of me,
> Let it not enter in your mind of love;
> Be merry, and employ your chiefest thoughts
> To courtship and such fair ostent of love
> As shall conveniently become you there:'
> And even there, his eye being big with tears,
> Turning his face, he put his hand behind him,
> And with affection wondrous sensible
> He wrung Bassanio's hand; and so they parted."

Is that the leavetaking of one who is to go away on a day's journey? Hardly.

It will be recalled, that Polonius gave Laertes similar advice when he was to leave for France.

Considerable time appears to have elapsed between Bassanio's departure from Venice and his arrival in Belmont. The Prince of Morocco makes his choice at Belmont. It is a few days after the departure that Salarino and Salanio discussed their versions of the departure. The Prince of Arragon makes his choice of the caskets in Belmont. It is then that Bassanio arrives.[4]

The welcome extended to Bassanio at Belmont (III. ix, 91-105) appears to be such as is given to a person who travelled a long distance.

After Bassanio has settled down to woo, and has been there for some time, he is surprised one day to receive a visit from Lorenzo, Jessica and Salanio. Welcoming them to Belmont, he says to Portia (III. ii, 232),

> "By your leave,
> I bid my friends and *countrymen,*
> Sweet Portia, welcome."

Clearly, Belmont is in a different country from Venice. What other significance would there be in Bassanio's use of the word "countrymen" in reference to Lorenzo, Jessica and Salanio?

At this time Gratiano asks Salanio (II. ii, 251),

> "What's the news from Venice?

This line, particularly in its context, again seems to speak of a far away place from Belmont.

Bassanio having already made the fortunate choice of the caskets, Portia says to him (II. ii, 231),

> "First go with me to church and call me wife,
> And then away to Venice to your friend;
> For never shall you lie by Portia's side
> With an unquiet soul."

[4] The action of the play extends over a period a little beyond three months and includes nine stage days. For a time-analysis of the play, see H. J. Griston, *Shaking the Dust from Shakespeare*, p. 81 & pp. 270-295.

Why the speedy marriage if Venice was only 20 miles away? It would have been possible to make other, more convenient arrangements, if it was only a neighboring village, only 20 miles distant; by horse one could go to Venice from Belmont and return in a day.

Observe Bassanio's curious oath, an oath which seems to be to no purpose if he is to go a distance of only 20 miles. He says (III. ii, 340),

> "Since I have your good leave to go away,
> I will make haste: but, till I come again,
> No bed shall e'er be guilty of my stay,
> No rest be interposer 'twixt us twain."

Such a loyal oath takes on some meaning if the bridegroom is leaving for a trip which may take a few weeks. If, however, he is going away only for a one-day trip, it is, to say the least, somewhat extravagant language. There is not very much sleeping time in a one-day trip; to give up sleep on a one-day trip is not to give up enough to justify the making of such an impressive promise.

After the trial, Portia refuses a night's lodging, saying (IV. i, 422):

> "I must away this night toward Padua,
> And it is meet I presently set forth."

If she were going by horseback, or by coach, to Belmont, she would stay over night. Ladies did not travel by coach at night in those days, for fear of highwaymen. Clearly, she was making her trip by boat, and not by horse.

Bassanio says to Antonio (IV, i, 476),

> "And in the morning early will we both
> Fly toward Belmont:"

Evidently, Belmont is not nearby. If it were, he would not say that in the morning he would fly "*toward* Belmont." He would say that in the morning they would go *to* Belmont.

Furthermore, as his business in Venice was over, and as he was a newly wedded man, and as he promised his wife that "no bed shall e'er be guilty of my stay," if Belmont was only about 20 miles from Venice, would he not promptly have gone to Belmont without stopping overnight in Venice? A logical excuse for stopping overnight would be that he waited for the proper tide and the proper wind, in order to set sail in the morning.

Portia had apparently decided to make use of whatever tide or wind there would be that same night, and she may have caught the tide before it turned. Portia gives her reason for so forcing the situation, by saying to Nerissa (IV, ii, 2),

> "we'll away to-night
> And be a day before our husbands home;"

Evidently, the trip was to take several days, otherwise this peculiar language would seem to be unnatural.

Then at Belmont Launcelot says to Lorenzo (V, i, 55):

> "Tell him there's a post come from my master, with his horn full of good news: my master will be here ere morning."

This line, with the scene as a whole, indicates that a long time had elapsed since Bassanio's departure. It was certainly not a one day's absence.

At the very end of the play, Portia says to Antonio (V, i, 299),

> "unseal this letter soon;
> There you shall find three of your argosies
> Are richly come to harbour suddenly:
> You shall not know by what strange accident
> I chanced on this letter."

One thing is clear, that she obtained her information in the harbor. Apparently, though, she decided to keep secret the name of the ship on which she sailed.

The logical answer to all this seems to be that Belmont was in a country situated on the water, several days sea voyage from Venice, in a different country, and accessible alike from England, Scotland, Arragon, Morocco, France, and Germany.

III

The references to Belmont found in the play seem to fit a town, situated on the shore of the Mediterranean, on the Island of Sicily, about 20 miles from Palermo. Palermo had been a great shipping center for centuries. Its name in Greek, *Palorma,* literally signifies a port always to be depended on. Ships continually came there from, and went to, all corners of the Mediterranean basin. Surprising as it may seem to many, the neighboring town, to which reference is made, bore the name "Belmonte." [5] Can this have been Portia's Belmont?

[5] See *Stieler's Atlas of Modern Geography* (Gotha—9th Ed. 1912, p. 25, b).

Portia's instructions to Balthasar, sending him to her cousin Bellario, certainly do not preclude such a possibility. Portia tells him,

> "use thou all the endeavour of a man
> In speed to Mantua;" (III. iv, 50-56.)

The manner in which he is to make the trip is not indicated.

It was very easy for him to go by coach, or horseback, to Palermo; there board a ship for the mainland of Italy; and then go on horseback to Padua, or Mantua. After discharging his business there, he would go to the ferry which traded to Venice.

As Balthasar made the extra land-trip to Padua and then back to the ferry, the entire trip to the ferry naturally took him a little longer than it would take Portia to reach the same ferry. She would, of course, be there before him, though she left a little later that very day.

It is well to observe here that it was not unusual for Shakespeare to make the scenes of a play alternate between places that were several days' travel apart. In *Anthony and Cleopatra,* for example, the action alternates between Rome and Alexandria; the Mediterranean Sea, of course, being between the two. In *Cymbeline* the action alternates between Britain and Rome, and again the Mediterranean Sea intervenes. In *Pericles* the action takes place in Antioch and Ephesus, which cities, likewise, are separated by the Mediterranean Sea. In *Othello* the action alternates between Verona and Milan. In *The Winter's Tale* the action alternates between Sicily and Bohemia. In *All's Well That Ends Well* the action alternates between Paris, Rousillon, Florence, and Marseilles, which are scattered cities in France and Italy. In *Henry V* the action takes place both in London and in Agincourt. In *Two Gentlemen of Verona* the action alternates between Verona and Milan.

IV

There is one other consideration that will be of considerable significance in this regard, and that is the connotation of the word "furnish" in the sentence in which Antonio tells Bassanio, he will supply means "to furnish thee to Belmont to fair Portia." The lines do not definitely tell us what Bassanio did with the 3000 ducats he received. We know that he bought gifts for Portia, and we also know that he supplied rare new liveries for his servants. It is clear, however, that Bassanio used a ship in making his journey to Belmont, as has already been shown by a number of quotations.

Here it will be of value to consult one of the sources for Shakespeare's play, namely, *Il Pecorone* by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, to ascertain whether it will throw light on the word "furnish." The novel therein named *The Adventures of Gianetto,*[6] does, in fact, throw light on the word; in it the money is borrowed for the express purpose of equipping a ship to take the young suitor (a man similar to Bassanio) "to Belmonte," a town mentioned in Stieler's map.

Furthermore, when one consults this novel, one has little doubt that the "Belmont" of *The Merhant of Venice* is actually the "Belmonte" which was situated both in Fiorentino's time and in Shakespeare's time on the northern coast of the Island of Sicily, about 20 miles north of Palermo.

Significantly, Fiorentino described "the port of the Lady of Belmonte" as being "in a gulf of the sea," which is "several days" sail from Venice, as one sailed toward the northern coast of Africa.

V

A few brief excerpts from the story may be of some interest and value.

The Adventures of Giannetto

Giannetto (Bassanio) was an adopted son of Ansaldo (Antonio), a rich merchant of Venice.

"Now it happened, that two of his (Ansaldo's) most intimate acquaintances had designed to go with two ships, laden with merchandise to Alexandria, as was usual every year; they told Giannetto he would do well to take pleasure in a voyage at sea with them, to see the world, and more especially Damascus, and the countries near it. Giannetto said, In good faith I would go willingly if my father Ansaldo will give me leave. We will manage so well with him, his companions answered, as to make him content. They go to Ansaldo, and beg his permission for Giannetto to go in the spring with them to Alexandria; and desire him to provide him a ship, that he may see a little of the world. Ansaldo said he would give leave if the other desired it. They answered, it was his desire.

Ansaldo immediately provided a very fine ship, loaded it with merchandise, adorned it with streamers, and furnished it with arms as many as were

6 See J. P. Collier: *Shakespeare's Library*, Vol. II. pp. 69ff.

necessary; as soon as it was ready, he gave orders to the captain and sailors to do everything Gianñetto commanded. * * * He took his leave of Ansaldo and his acquaintances; putting out to sea, they hoisted the sails, and stood for Alexandria. The three friends with their ships sailing in company for some days, it happened one morning early, that Giannetto saw a gulf with a fine port, and asked the captain how the port was called? * * * He answers, This lady is a fine and beautiful woman, and has made a law, that whosoever arrives here is obliged to (woo her) * * * ."

Giannetto failed in the love test which he had to meet to win the lady, and, as a consequence, his trip came to disaster, for his ship and merchandise were confiscated.

"Giannetto said, he should never be happy till he was at liberty to make another voyage. Ansaldo perceiving his intention, when the time was come, provided another ship of more value, and with more merchandise than the first * * * . His companions, when their ships had everything in order, set sail, with Giannetto; and sailing along for several days together, he was all attention to discover once more the port of the lady, which was called The port of the lady of Belmonte. Coming one night to the mouth of it, which was in a gulf of the sea, he immediately knew it to be the same, and shifting sails and rudder, he entered * * *

The lady the next morning looking on the port from the bedchamber, and seeing the streamers of the ship playing in the wind, knew it; and asked her maid if she knew the streamers? The maid said, she imagined it was the ship of the young man who arrived the last year, and had left so fine a cargo behind."

This second trip likewise came to grief, for he again failed in his love test. But Giannetto was determined to win the lady and determined on a third trip "to regain all that he had lost." He was again provided with a ship, though his benefactor had to strip himself of his last assets, and borrow the balance from a Jewish money lender.

"This last ship was finer and better freighted than the other two, and his companions made ready for the voyage * * *. Ansaldo gave him his blessing, they take their leave, and the ships set out. The two companions observed carefully the ship of Giannetto, while he had nothing in his head but to con-

trive in what manner to steal into the port of Belmonte; and he prevailed with one of the sailors in the night to sail the vessel into the port of the lady."

This time Giannetto, profiting by his prior experiences, and receiving the aid of the lady's servants, was able to succeed in the love test, and to win the lady. The rest of the story does not concern us in connection with the present inquiry.

VI

So much as has been quoted, coupled with the other considerations herein set forth, would seem to leave little room for doubt that the Belmonte found in Stieler's *Atlas,* situated on the Island of Sicily, is actually the Belmont of Fiorentino's novel and of Shakespeare's play.

Shakespeare in Iowa

When Shakespeare wrote at first of daisies pied,
And cowslip's bells, and fairy groves of broom,
Bedecking the sweet English country-side,
He did not think to paint a fairer bloom
Upon a wild-rose cheek; and when he praised
The glorious morning, gilding the pale streams,
He did not know the magic that he phrased
For this bright Iowa morning's golden beams.

Because an English boy loved English fields,
Three hundred years and half a world away,
One sees more clear the harvest beauty yields,
One weeps, when rough winds shake the buds of May,
And at each pasture bridge, one leans to look
And see the willows, grown aslant the brook.

RUTH MESSENGER.

Shakespeare *Versus* Shallow

By JOHN E. HANNIGAN

IN a book of 131 pages of text and 244 pages of appendix, entitled *Shakespeare versus Shallow,* Mr. James Leslie Hotson reports that among the old court records in London he has found rich treasure of Shakesperean interest. His treasure trove may be inventoried as follows:

1. A man named William Wayte "swore the peace" against William Shakespeare, Francis Langley, and two unidentified women named Dorothy Soer and Ann Lee, and the Sheriff of Surrey was commanded to have these four persons before a Court on November 29, 1596. The date of the complaint, the Court, and the subsequent proceedings are not reported.

2. Francis Langley, the proprietor of the new Swan Theatre, was on bad terms with a William Gardiner. Gardiner was judge of the local court at Southwark, and William Wayte was his stepson. Gardiner died in November, 1597.

3. Gardiner's first marriage was with a widow named Wayte; her maiden name was Lucy, her father's family's coat-of-arms bore "luces," and Gardiner, after his marriage, quartered three luces haurient on his own shield.

4. Gardiner was a scoundrel, and Wayte a "loose person."

5. Gardiner is the Justice Shallow of *II Henry IV* and *The Merry Wives,* and Wayte is Slender, the "wise cousine" of Shallow, in *The Merry Wives.*

6. *The Merry Wives* was first presented April 23, 1597, at the Queen's Court at Westminster.

7. "My Lord Chamberlaine's seruantes" were playing in Langley's Swan Theatre during the latter part of 1596.

Items 1, 2, and 3 may be said to be established by direct and credible proof. The other four are inferences of Mr. Hotson. All are classified equally as Discoveries. To establish the identity of William Gardiner, the Judge of Southwark Court, with Justice Shallow, the boob of two plays, it is necessary, as the author thinks, to prove that Gardiner was a detested malefactor. The

Discoverer has, therefore, resurrected the old Elizabethan from his grave in Bermondsey church-yard and set him up as "Exhibit A." In respect of William Gardiner, his life, says page 29, is "to grow before our eyes into a tissue of greed, usury, fraud, cruelty, and perjury; of crime, in short, enough to make him a marked man even in the Elizabethan age. We shall see him lending money at ten in the hundred, defrauding his wife's family, his son-in-law, and his step-son, oppressing his neighbors, and rack-renting his poor tenants. By these and similar means, he will amass great wealth, and at the close of the chapter die detested;" on page 78 he is ranked as "a faithless malefactor of great wealth;" on page 85 we are assured that this Gardiner "was an avaricious liar, cheat and toady;" and page 110 recites that he was an "imbecile, food for inextinguishable laughter." All this sounds like loud roaring in the index.

Mr. Hotson's zeal and industry are amazing; so are his lack of judgment and his thoughtless disregard of the reputation of the dead and the feelings of the living. Neither does he stop to consider where he leaves William Shakespeare.

The book, purporting to present the indictment in the text and adduce the proof in the appendix, grows before our eyes into a fantastic tissue of shreds and patches of unproved allegations raked out of the dreary waste of litigious jargon characteristic of the files of every clerk of court, and especially characteristic of the period when litigation and cantankerous talk were the Englishman's favorite indoor sports. That characteristic is brought home in more than one respect to the accepted Shakesperean biography. By Mr. Hotson's fact-finding system, Robert Greene's dying diatribe of 1593 affords the conclusive proof that Shakespeare was an intermeddling humbug; the Sturley and Quiney letters of 1598 indicate that Shakespeare was a grasping usurer and land grabber, fattening on the necessities of his unfortunate friends in Stratford; and his tax delinquencies in London mark him as a tax-dodging scoundrel. In spite of the author's former success with the Marlowe Murder Indictment, his latest book marks him down as incompetent to deal with and draw conclusions from judicial records. The Discovery is like two grains of wheat in two bushels of chaff. The author's fairness as a literary researcher is not to be disparaged by his want of judicial qualities as an interpreter of legal documents. Typical of the honesty of his intent and the futility of his judgment are the earliest Gardiner cases. One Henry Chare, an attorney, in 1555 brought a suit against William Gardyner (*sic*) and Randall Smyth, for

that the previous year with force and arms they broke his close and there depastured their horses, sheep, cows and pigs and consumed his grass from the 16th till 22d June. At the trial, the jury appears to have found for the plaintiff and assessed damages at £11. At the time of this trespass our Gardiner was 23 years old. Who Randall Smyth, the co-owner of the cattle was, we do not know. The language of the record reveals the case known as Cattle Damage Feasant, one of commonest occurrences in England, importing no evil intent or knowledge on the part of the defendants, involving no more than the straying and trespassing of cattle on poorly fenced fields, a civil remedy and compensation to the owner of the grass consumed or trampled. The amount of damages indicates a considerable number of cattle openly ranging wide fields. There is never a deer. How does the author deal with this? He says, page 30, that our first document brings him (Gardiner) into view in 1555 on the wrong side of a law suit, for he was "convicted and heavily fined" in that year for breaking a fence and pasturing his cattle on a neighbor's land, "breaking into a neighbor's pasture with his hungry cows." The next offer of proof is more trivial. William Gardiner, in 1556 was called before a Court Leet, or View of Frank Pledge (which was a court of record in a particular lordship, hundred or manor, held once a year before the Steward of the Leet) in Southwark, for that in an affray in Southwark with William Beston, he, Gardiner, drew blood from Beston, presumably from his nose. ("Quod Willelmus Gardener —fecit affraiem et effudit sanguinem super Willelmus Beston.") For this savagery Gardener (*sic*), 25 or 26 years old, was held *in misericordia* to the extent of three shillings, four pence. This frightful affair proves to Mr. Hotson not only that Gardiner's second misdeed was a sanguinary affray with swords, but also that Gardiner had spent a riotous and sword-rattling youth in the city near the Temple. Yet this record proves him to be in Southwark, and the other a long way from the Temple, breaking Henry Chare's fences and herding cattle out in the country.

Like most active men of his day, Gardiner was plaintiff or defendant in a number of law suits. He owned or controlled large resources, real and personal, inherited from his father and from his mother and brought to him by his marriage with a wealthy widow and heiress. Mr. Hotson's whole condemnation of him is based on the customary phraseology of adversaries in contentious law suits. That in most of these cases the decisions of the juries or the courts, so far as they are reported, are in favor of Gardiner, is rejected as an irrelevant circumstance. If Gardiner lends a small sum of money, he is oppressing the poor; if he lends a large sum he is toadying to the great.

Gardiner and John Shaxbere of Stretford were at one time employing the same London lawyer, one Henry Burr, to collect loans. If at any time in his long life Gardiner expresses a doubt about predestination, he is forever odious, not to our generation, but to his own generation, because Mr. Hotson thinks that religious skepticism was a devilish skepticism for the Elizabethan mind, though not for the American. Everyone who dealt with Gardiner was not only a victim, but a defenceless victim. His treatment of everyone was heartless. His motive was always somebody's utter ruin. All his enterprises were most foul and unchristian, according to this book. When people borrow from him, they borrow unwarily. When they try to escape paying, Mr. Hotson hopes they will escape, and believes every alibi. If Gardiner wins a case, he wins because of his great wealth, or his friendship with the judge, or the awe in which the jury held him. Legacies in Gardiner's will to two distinguished men were payments for their judicial partiality towards him in lawsuits tried before them. (It appears that he never had any case before them.) He is always guilty of the terrible crime, or the foul corruption, or the dastardly wrong. Nothwithstanding that the book might serve as a dictionary of epithets and denunciatory adjectives, Mr. Hotson ignores the paramount facts appearing on his own record. Any cool-minded reader, however, may make his own estimate from them. If the young American and the old Elizabethan could get together for a little friendly talk, the young detective's success in digging up old law papers and the old judge's wisdom in drawing conclusions might well lead to mutual admiration, I am sure. These are the facts appearing in the book:

William Gardiner was born of an excellent family in Bermondsey, Surrey, in 1531. Through the death of his older brother Richard, in 1558, he inherited the very substantial estate of his able and prosperous father. At 27 he married a lady, also of good family and well-to-do, the widow of a rich merchant named Wayte. By Wayte she had one son who lived. She died, the mother of three Gardiner sons and two daughters. Her first Gardiner son died during his father's lifetime, but leaving children of his own. Both her father and first husband were members of the Leathersellers Company. Gardiner became a member of that company and soon was made Second Warden. He owned horses, pigs and cattle before he was 23. He never owned any deer. There is no record of his ever having been in any of the Inns of Court. He was not on the Rolls of Lawyers either as barrister or solicitor. His rank from birth was that of gentleman. At the age of 48 he was elected, against his protest, one of the High Sheriffs of London and County of Middlesex. He declined the expensive honor and defiantly refused to pay the extortionate fine of £200

imposed for his refusal. The author calls this miserliness. Gardiner realized that he was elected in order that the city politicians might levy a substantial toll upon him because he was rich and unambitious of merely ornamental honors. He appealed to the Lord Chamberlain who directed or requested the city authorities to remit the fine to £50. Still Gardiner refused to pay, but finally he yielded. The gang again elected him to the same office. Upon his second refusal to accept the office they attempted to collect another fine of £200, but he stoutly refused to pay anything and this time his resistance succeeded. The practice of electing rich men to office which they did not want and penalizing them for refusing was a grafting practice. The year after his first refusal he was sent with letters in post for Her Majesty's affairs to the Lord Justice of Ireland in Munster from the Court at Whitehall,—not an easy errand in those days and not an errand for an imbecile. He performed it well. That very year he was appointed Justice of the Peace in Surrey, an office of dignity and responsibility, demanding fidelity, strength of character, human sympathy and sound vision. His commission recites that he possessed these qualities. Men of rank often held such judgeships, though not trained at the Inns of Court. He filled this place for 17 years, until his death, except one year when the Queen appointed him High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex. Except for this one year in the Suburban Shrievalty, he was the local judge of Southwark, a turbulent district, yet his record of committals to prison seems moderate—297 in 16 years. Judge Hotson finds no fault in this man as a judge. He was a just man on the bench. No litigant or prisoner in his court ever uttered a complaint against him; no bribe in a bribe-giving age, no tyranny in an age of injustice, ever stained his judicial ermine.

Justice Gardiner throughout his life seems to have sustained his rank and position as a gentleman of wealth. He was no coward. He would fight for his rights. He learned not to speak his mind. He was neither a spendthrift nor a scurvy politician, nor a time server, nor an "easy mark," nor an imbecile. He had standing and influence. There is no stain on his moral character. His domestic life appears to have been normal and wholesome in every way. He was a man of strong will, righteous impulses and independent spirit. There was some turbulence in his life as there was in the life of every Elizabethan not a serf. Besides the youthful run-in with Will Beston, which cost him almost four shillings, he was disciplined by the Leathersellers for unrestrained speech, but almost immediately after this they re-elected him their Warden. He lent money on interest and insisted upon its repayment, as Shakespeare did with his loans, and as every normal person does. One of Gardiner's bor-

rowers was Sir Walter Raleigh, who proved to be a slow and reluctant payer-up. If Gardiner quarrelled with Francis Langley in 1596, so did Gabriel Spenser and other members of the Pembroke Company in 1597. When Gardiner was sued, he stood manfully to his rights and tried his case out on its merits in the open court. When Ben Jonson was indicted for the murder of Spenser, the dramatist read his neck verse and escaped his just deserts through benefit of clergy, but with the decorative "T" brand. Although holding the Queen's commission as Judge, Gardiner refused as a member of the Leathersellers Company to pay anything towards a "prest loan" levied by the Queen on the London companies. At the same time he was contributing regularly to the "wheat money" of the city, presumably a Public Welfare Fund.

Gardiner, a man of parts, substance and ability, rejected the folderol and gold lace of the London High Sheriff, but instead gave his time to the dreary but useful work of magistrate in the busy Southwark police court for 16 years up to the time of his death. This at least argues public spirit, public service, and public esteem.

He died November 26, 1597, in his 67th year. His funeral, on the following December 22d, was directed and attended by Ben Jonson's friend, William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms; in the funeral procession walked Thomas Lant, Windsor Herald, many others of the worshipful, so-called, and all of the family and servants. His wife's son, Wayte, bore the pennon, whatever that was. Dr. Mountfort preached the sermon. The funeral services were at the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene in Bermondsey, of which Gardiner was a life-long member and of which he was Warden. Not impossibly William Shakespeare, the substantial business man of Southwark, was among the mourners at the funeral of the well-beloved Judge of the Southwark Court.

William Gardiner's elaborate and carefully written will, covering 19 pages of the closely printed appendix, impresses at least one unbiased reader as the testament of an able, just, reasonable and kindly man. He makes generous provision for his widow, conditioned on her not claiming her legal rights. Care in respect to this provision was required because the widow, a second wife, was not the mother of his children. He gave her much more than her rights. Even in those days a widow could disorganize a will by waiving her claims under it and demanding her *pars rationalis* and her dower. He remembers affectionately and substantially several old friends. He expresses deep and practical sympathy for those poor who are sick in hospitals and for

inmates of the prisons of London and Southwark. Some of these were debtors' prisons; some were for criminals. He provides for an immediate distribution to the poor of his own parish and of the adjoining parish. The congregation of St. Mary Magdalene of Bermondsey still use and treasure the communion cup, probably gold, which he provided for them. The poor people of that parish to this day, if his will is still carried out, are receiving every year £10 from his estate, and will continue to receive it. He remembered his servants and tenants and the servants of his dead son. He seems to have had the veneration of his own family and the long friendship of first-class men. The bulk of his property went to his descendants, not forgetting the widow of his son who died. His sons became successful and distinguished; one of his grandsons achieved a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography,* and another married Bridget, the daughter of John Donne the poet and Dean of St. Paul's. He had a little trouble with a son-in-law named Stepkin. Most of his sons and grandsons were knighted and a great-grandson became a Knight of the Bath. One of the visitors at his home in Bermondsey was the great Lord Chancellor, Bromley, who had appointed him a judge. Probably he was a connection of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, who in Henry VIII's time was Bishop of Winchester and became Queen Mary's famous Lord Chancellor. William's older brother Richard, who died in 1557 had been Sergeant-at-Arms to Henry VIII. Such was the man whom our young scholar tries to vilify and ridicule as an imbecile and scoundrel. Probably there are in England today persons proud of their descent from William Gardiner.

In *2 Henry IV,* VI, i, Falstaff says, "I remember him at Clements Inn like a man made after supper of a cheese paring—'A was a very genius of famine." Gardiner, if anything, from youth was a genius of plenty. There are passages in this scene which must have brought grief and pain to the friends of Mr. Gardiner if they recognized that he was Justice Shallow, as our Shakespeare wished them to believe, as our author believes. If we believe our Hotson, Shakespeare, himself about 32 years old, with children of his own in Stratford, one of whom had just died, was deliberately showing up the youthful immoralities, committed 45 years before, by a respectable father and grandfather now 66 years old, in satisfaction of a petty grudge based on Wayte's complaint. If this is so, it is Shakespeare who is shown up. For myself, I reject the hypothesis.

Mr. Hotson tells us that *The Merry Wives* was first presented April 23, 1597, at the palace of Westminster, on the occasion of the Garter Feast on St.

George's Day, about six months before Gardiner's death and six months after Wayte's complaint; that necessarily *II Henry IV* was written and presented before the *Merry Wives* was written, but *II Henry IV* was written after Shakespeare moved to Southwark and Wayte's complaint against Shakespeare and Langley, and that Shakespeare, instead of quarrelling openly with Gardiner, as Langley did, staged the cunning justice as "an imbecile fit for inextinguishable laughter. This would flick Gardiner on the raw" and feed fat the newly formed grudge that Shakespeare bore against Gardiner because William Wayte had sworn the peace against him. "And in safety, too," says our author, "for to call a man a fool is no slander, since the term imputes no crime." Again I stand up for Shakespeare's manliness against such puerile ascription of ignoble motives. The "inextinguishable laughter" was to come from audiences who would recognize in Justice Shallow the lineaments of William Gardiner of Southwark, we are told.

We assume that *The Merry Wives* was presented at the Queen's Court, Mr. Dover Wilson says, in about 1598. Who would be in that audience, giving way to "inextinguishable laughter" at the ridiculing and punishing of the imbecile William Gardiner? Well, there would be Gardiner's youngest son William, who in June, 1597, married Mary Yelverton, the daughter of Serjeant Yelverton, famous leader of the London Bar and Speaker of the House of Commons; Serjeant Yelverton himself, who knew something of the law of libel; Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Queen's Majesties Exchequer, and Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of Her Majesties Court of Common Pleas, favorite officials of the Queen, and Gardiner's intimate friends; the Lord Chamberlain, patron of Shakespeare's company, and an old friend of Gardiner; William Camden, the antiquarian and scholar and historian of Elizabeth's reign, who as Clarenceux King of Heraldy directed Gardiner's funeral, and from 1596 to 1599 had pending before him the application of John Shakespeare of Stratford for the right to bear arms; Nicholas Fuller, one of the witnesses to Gardiner's will, the hebraist and philologist, secretary to the Bishop of Winchester, whose palace was close to St. Saviour's Church in Southwark. Such was the character of the worshipful audience which was to be delighted with Will Shakespeare's safe slandering of William Gardiner, who died in November, 1597, and whose bier was followed by a worshipful company. It may be added, that Sir John Fortescue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was not a judge of a law court at all, but was a member of the Privy Council, the authority to whom Shakespeare and other players of

Blackfriars' Theatre were appealing in 1596 for the privilege of keeping their theatre open.

Wayte, says the book, was cousin Slender, who in *The Merry Wives,* was willing, if Shallow desired it, to marry the youthful Anne Page for her dowry of £700. Wayte in 1597 was a married man, 43 years old, the sole heir of his wealthy father and mother, the father of seven children, five of whom were living, the youngest being four years old in November, 1597. He and his wife Joan were to die together in the plague of the summer of 1603, leaving the children surviving.

As for the "dozen luces in their coat": luces were common on coats of arms. They were to be found on many coats. Apparently the ancient custom was for all judges to wear luces on their official coats.

If our Shakespeare wrote *The Merry Wives* in 1597 to avenge Langley, it is clear from Dr. Wallace's and Mrs. Stopes' researches that Shakespeare was not interested in the Swan in 1597. The Pembrokes had the Swan in 1597. If Shakespeare had finished *II Henry IV* a year before he wrote *The Merry Wives,* according to the Hotson theory, he wrote it before William Wayte "swore the peace" against him, and probably before Langley built the Swan. I see nothing in the fact that Shakespeare may have been joined with Langley in a complaint by Wayte in November, 1596, to prove that Shakespeare's company was playing in the Swan in November, 1596. Even if they were, their stay was temporary, and the matter is unimportant.

I'm sorry Mr. Hotson made his discovery, because his distinction as a researcher may give currency to his false history. The blurb of his book is preposterous. I write this, however, not in the spirit of attacking him or ridiculing him, but to protect my favorite great man from the folly and imprudence of ill-advised biographers. I hope he finds no more Shakespeare treasure troves of this nature.

"Hamlet" and Frederiksborg

By DOROTHEA C. HESS

THE student of *Hamlet* finds many interesting details in Denmark,—Kronborg Slot, the royal castle at Elsinore [Helsingör], a countryside combining the mystery of dark green beech forests, the earnestness of pines and purple heather, the smiling fertility of golden grain fields, and a treacherous, savage northern sea ever in the background. Peculiarities of Danish character and custom, the occurrence of names used in the tragedy, not only serve to give greater reality to the drama, but also suggest the thought that Shakespeare must have had personal knowledge of those details of persons and setting which he presents so accurately.

Visits to the castles of Kronborg and Frederiksborg in the summer of 1929 were made doubly interesting to me through the disovery of various records of the families of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. At Kronborg, in a semi-octagonal bay or alcove (which, shut off by arras, might well have served as a hiding-place for Claudius and Polonius when they retired to observe the effect of the "losing" of Ophelia to Hamlet) hangs the copy of a portrait of "Fru Mette Rosenkrantz, 1579."

The most complete records, however, are those in that lovely Renaissance castle of Frederiksborg which, erected by Christian IV, brother of the queen of James I of England and restorer of Kronborg (1602-1620), is now used as a museum to house records of Danish history and culture since the introduction of Christianity. To me the most arresting things were replicas of tombstones which bore the names of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

The first of these was inscribed as follows:—

"Replica of the Gravestone in Hornslet Church over the Chancellor of the Realm, Sir Erik Ottesen Rosenkrantz of Björnholm, †[1] 1503, and his Wife, Mistress Sophie Gyldenstjerne, † 1487." [2]

These words were placed under the effigies of the knight, his wife, and (apparently) their son. The Rosenkrantz coat of arms, a sort of checkered band, placed diagonally on the shield, appeared beneath at the left; and the

[1] The emblem of the cross (†) is used in the Scandinavian countries to indicate death; the (*) is employed instead of the word "born": *e.g.* Magnus Moeller, * 1894.

[2] "Afstöbning af Gravsten i Hornslet Kirke over Rigens Hofmester Hr. Erik Ottesen Rosenkrantz til Björnholm, † 1503, og hans Hustru Fru Sophie Gyldenstjerne, † 1487."

seven-pointed star of the Guildenstern family in a corresponding position at the right.

The second model read:—

"Replica of Gravestone in St. Hans Church in Odense over the State Councillor Sir Preben Podebusk, † 1541, and his two Wives Mistress Vibeke Rosenkrantz, † 1506, and Mistress Anna Gyldenstjerne, † 1545. The stone was hewn *circa* 1510-1520." [3]

The next bore these words:—

"Replica of Gravestone in Ringsted Church over One Mouritz Olufsen Krognos of Bollerup Chieftain at Skjoldnaesholm, † 1550; his wife Mistress Eilne Göye, † 1563, and his mother Mistress Anne Gyldenstjerne, † 1545." [4]

Underneath this third epitaph may be observed the seven-pointed star of the Guildensterns above the Rosenkrantz coat of arms, with the addition of two lions.

A fourth model was inscribed as follows:—

"Replica of Gravestone over State Councillor Sir Oluf Neilsen Rosenkrantz of Vallö †1545, his wife Mistress Ida Munk, †1586, and their sons." [5]

Another replica was that of the tomb (in the cathedral at Aarhus) of the last Catholic bishop in Denmark, Knud Gyldenstjerne, who died in 1568, and of his wife, Jytte Podebusk, deceased 1573.

The sixth copy had the following inscription:—

"A Replica in detail of the Gravestone in Voldum Church over Otte Gyldenstierne of Iversnaes, †1551, and Wife Mistress Helvig Göye Mogensdatter, †1597." [6]

The third, fifth, and sixth inscriptions bear the name of Guildenstern only,

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[3] "Afstöbning af Gravsten i St. Hans Kirke i Odense over Rigsraad Hr. Preben Podebusk, † 1541, og hans Hustruer Fru Vibeke Rosenkrantz, † 1506, og Fru Anna Gyldenstjerne, † 1545. Stenen er hugget c. 1510-1520."

[4] "Afstöbning af Gravsten i Ringsted Kirke over Un Mouritz Olufsen Krognos til Bollerup Lensmand paa Skholdnaesholm, † 1550; hans Hustru Fru Eilne Göye, † 1563, og hans Moder Fru Anne Gyldenstjerne, † 1545."

[5] "Afstöbning af Gravsten over Rigsraaden Hr. Oluf Nielsen Rosenkrantz till Vallö. † 1545, hans Hustru Fru Ida Munk, † 1586, og deres Sönner."

[6] "Detailafstöbning af Gravsten i Voldum Kirke over Otte Gyldenstierne at Iversnaes, † 1551, og Hustru Fru Helvig Göye Mogensdatter, † 1597."

the fourth that of Rosencrantz, and the first two commemorate members of both families. The juxtaposition of these two names, which are so closely associated in the minds of all readers of *Hamlet,* excites the imagination. Could Shakespeare himself have seen the tombstones of which these are the replicas? The dates on all of them are of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The originals are, to be sure, widely separated. Ringsted Church, the burial-place of Fru Anne Gyldenstjerne, is situated on the Island of Seeland; Odense, where Fru Vibeke Rosenkrantz and Fru Anne Gyldenstjerne were buried, is the chief city of the Island of Fyen, between Seeland and Jutland; and Aarhus, whose cathedral holds the remains of Knud Gyldenstjerne, is the largest city of Jutland. Are these places, however, too far apart to be visited by a company of strolling players who had already accomplished the long and tumultuous journey from England? The English actors whom Frederick II invited to Elsinore in 1585 and 1586 might well have travelled to the extreme limits of so small a country as Denmark and have seen the tombstones whose records are here set down,—with the exception of the sixth, which bears the date 1597.

Among these actors,—members of the Earl of Leicester's company,—whose names were entered on the town records of Elsinore, now preserved in state archives at Copenhagen, were "Wilhelm" Kempe and Thomas Pope, both friends of Shakespeare during his early days in London. February, 1585, the date of the birth of his twins, Judith and Hamnet, marks the last official record we have of the dramatist before his departure from Stratford. One's fancy lingers over the idea that, joining the Earl of Leicester's company in a subordinate capacity,—one which would hardly justify his inclusion in the official roster of the group,—he found in Denmark, the first foreign land visited by him, an unforgettable stimulus. He might well have been impressed by the beauty of Kronborg Castle, by the savagery of the old Danish legend of Fengon and Hamblet, and, wandering about in austere old churches and moist green churchyards, by a certain ironic possibility in the romantic names of Rose-wreath (Rosencrantz) and Golden-star (Guildenstern).

Emending the Text of "The Tempest"

(A Friendly Remonstrance)

By HOXIE NEALE FAIRCHILD

IN many of his notes on "Textual Difficulties in *The Tempest*," which appeared in the October issue of this BULLETIN, Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum ably demonstrates that a knowledge of Elizabethan script will solve many perplexing problems. Several of his points, however, unintentionally furnish a warning that the best of methods may be abused.

So many Elizabethan letters can be mistaken for so many other Elizabethan letters that, unless the critic holds his enthusiasm within conservative bounds, palæography can transform hundreds of quite acceptable Folio passages into something rich and strange. The numerous valuable emendations in Leon Kellner's *Restoring Shakespeare*, for example, are smothered in a mass of needless tinkerings. Negatively, palæographical knowledge is a check on wanton subjectivity. Positively, it is a precious aid in the solution of real difficulties. But when difficulties are invented for the pure joy of illustrating its usefulness, it assumes the peculiar insidiousness of a scientific instrument unscientifically applied.

When a passage in the Folio makes good Elizabethan sense, the critic should leave it alone. He may wish that Shakespeare had said something different; he may be able, by reference to analogous errors in printing from Elizabethan script, to establish the possibility that Shakespeare *did* say something different. But the Folio text should not be placed on trial at all unless it behaves in a suspicious manner, and even when it is brought before the bar it should be assumed to be innocent until it is proved guilty. Strict adherence to this principle may allow a few corrupt lines to pass as the work of Shakespeare, but much greater disadvantages would result from ransacking the Folio for errors that the Elizabethan printer conceivably *might* have made. In the light of what may be called the "principle of abstinence," let us examine some of Dr. Tannenbaum's emendations.

I. ii 35-38.—

> "I haue with such provision in mine Art
> So safely ordered," etc.

"In line 35," says Dr. Tannenbaum, "I would much prefer 'prevision' to provision'; the words 'So safely ordered' seem to make 'provision' tame, pro-

saic, and tautologous; 'prevision' adds dignity to Prospero; *e:o* and *o:e* errors are easy and common." If it could be proved that Shakespeare is never "tame, prosaic, and tautologous," emendation might be necessary. Otherwise the temptation to dignify Prospero by changing *o* to *e* should be resisted. "Provision" certainly makes sense, and there is no sufficient reason for altering it.

I. ii, 89-91.—

> "for the liberall Artes,
> Without a paralell; those being all my studie,
> The Gouernment I cast vpon my brother."

Dr. Tannenbaum, suspecting another *o:e* error, would change "those" to "these." The construction is perfectly normal, and I see no danger that the audience would suppose that "those" refers to "The manage of my state" rather than to "liberal Artes." Indeed, I feel that "those" is preferable as broadening the gap between "liberal Artes" and "the Gouerment." However this may be, is there any real evidence for suspecting a corruption?

i. ii, 91-93.—

> "The Gouernment I cast vpon my brother,
> And to my State grew stranger, being transported
> And rapt in secret studies."

Dr. Tannenbaum clearly shows that it is possible that "stranger" is a misprint for "strange." But it is equally possible that "stranger" is here a substantive, and even as an adjective it makes sense. The line presents no metrical difficulty, for trisyllabic feet are not uncommon in *The Tempest*. In any case, "being" hardly contains two full syllables. Why not leave well enough alone?

I. ii, 413-415.—

> "Abhorred Slaue,
> Which any print of goodnesse wilt not take,
> Being capable of all ill."

Like all of Dr. Tannenbaum's emendations, the suggested reading of "point" for "print" is palæographically justifiable. But in spite of the fact that in *King Lear* we have "prize" for "poise," I refuse to abandon a clear and characteristic Shakespearian image in favor of the shabby result of an imaginary *r:o* error. This particular emendation, indeed, would hardly be acceptable unless it could be shown that the Elizabethan printer *always* read *r* when Shakespeare wrote *o*. Caliban is later called

> "A devil, a born devil, on whose nature
> Nurture can never stick."

There we have the same idea of a nature that resists the print of goodness. Dr. Tannenbaum's objection to Shakespeare's metaphor seems excessively literal-minded. The most scientific critic must bring imagination to bear upon images. [The idea in the two passages are *not* the same.—S. A. T.]

I. ii, 422-424.—

> "therefore wast thou
> Deseruedly confin'd into this Rocke, who hadst
> Deseru'd more then a prison."

Dr. Tannenbaum says: "There is no excuse for retaining the incorrect and cacophonous 'hadst' in this passage; it should be replaced by 'hast'. 'Deservedly' should, as Dr. Furness suggested, be omitted; it was probably retained in Shakspere's manuscript only because he forgot to delete it. 'Deserv'd' should be transferred to the end of line 423 (Furness)."

I am half inclined to accept the suggestions as to "deservedly" and "deserv'd," though the repetition, which may easily have been intentional, becomes much less awkward if "thou hadst" is shifted to the beginning of line 424. But "hadst" should be retained as a conditional form which exactly expresses Shakespeare's meaning: "You were therefore deservedly confined in this cave—you who *would have deserved* worse punishment than such imprisonment." [Dr. Fairchild's un-English interpretation proves the need for emendation.—S. A. T.]

III. i, 82.—Dr. Tannenbaum feels that Prospero's "O heauen; O earth, beare witness to this sound" in answer to Miranda's "Do you loue me?" is "unlike what a romantic young man would say under the circumstances." Remembering that "a certain sign of '&' might easily have been mistaken for 'O' ", he suggests the reading, "*Oh!*—Heaven and earth, bear witness," etc. I fail to see why a romantic young man should not call separately upon heaven and earth to bear witness to his vows, or why he should not grant an "O" to each of them. No one who happens to share the purely subjective notion that Ferdinand should have said something else will feel any necessity for "bibliotic" aid at this point. Or shall we amend Hamlet's "O all you host of heaven! O earth!" into "Oh!—all you host of heaven and earth."? [Prostrate and heavily up-rising Hamlet has good reasons for addressing earth and heaven in turn; Ferdinand has none.—S. A. T.]

IV. i, 7-9.—

> "All thy vexations
> Were but my trials of thy loue, and thou
> Hast strangely stood the test."

Dr. Tannenbaum would read, "Hast—strangely—stood the test." To my ears this urbane little parenthesis has a thoroughly modern ring. No emenda-

tion is necessary if we take "strangely" to mean "rarely," "exceptionally well." The same sense of the word appears in Prospero's statement that

> "with good life
> And observation strange, my meaner ministers
> Their several kinds have done."

In the famous lyric, "rich and strange" probably means "rich and rarely precious," like the pearls of the father's eyes.

IV. i, 174-175.—

> "the great Globe it selfe,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolue."

Scenting "another *es:e* error," Dr. Tannenbaum would read "inherits," and of course grammar is on his side. But the additional *s* gives the line unpleasing sibilance, and if the Folio reading can be explained we had better cling to it. Perhaps we have here a vague but suggestive use of the subjunctive—"the great globe, and all which it can possibly be thought of as containing." In this case I may be somewhat more ingenious in defending the Folio than Dr. Tannenbaum is in amending it, but I do not believe that the evidence for corruption is quite strong enough to necessitate a change. [Dr. Fairchild's interpretation strikes me as an absurd attempt to justify a bad reading.—S. A. T.]

IV. i, 233-234.—Caliban says, "All's husht as midnight yet," but Dr. Tannenbaum would have him say, "All's *hush,*" etc. Why? "Husht" makes perfect sense, and the three *t*'s in the Folio line agree admirably with the stealthy, tiptoe movements of the conspirators. [The text requires an adjective, not a past participle. Explosive *t*'s cannot convey the notion of stealth.—S. A. T.]

V. i, 70-72.—

> A solemne Ayre, and the best comforter
> To an vnsettled fancie, Cure thy braines
> (Now vseless) boile within thy skull."

Granting that Shakespeare possessed an imagination, "boil'd" is a better reading than Dr. Tannenbaum's "toil'd," which seems to him "as plain as the nose on one's face." Alonso, Gonzalo, Sebastian, and Antonio have been driven out of their wits by the enchantment. Alonso enters "with a frantic gesture," the others "in like manner." True to the psychology of his day, Shakespeare supposes that "ignorant fumes" have risen into their brains to "mantle their clearer reason." The idea of mental agitation and the idea of rising fumes combine in a vivid picture of "useless" brains bubbling and steaming within the kettle of the skull. [Not so; "ignorant fumes," *i.e.,* fumes causing ignorance, have nothing to do with being out of one's wits, especially

if this was due to enchantment. In Elizabethan psychology (see Miss R. L. Anderson's *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays*) mental agitation did not cause the brains to bubble and steam; on the contrary, the vapors were congealed there. The "ignorant fumes" blocked the nerves, the avenues to memory, and mantled the clearer reason like a mist. The boiling went on in and about the heart.—S. A. T.]

V. i, 94-95.—

> "Not one of them
> That yet looks on me, or would know me."

" 'Or' for 'er'," says Dr. Tannenbaum, "is such an easy misreading that I would prefer to read 'e'er' ". The emendation spoils the sense of this passage as I understand it. Alonso, Gonzalo, Sebastian and Antonio have not yet fully regained their sanity. They cannot control their eyes well enough to look squarely at Prospero, and they have not recognized him. Prospero mutters to himself, "There is not one of these men who has yet really looked me in the face, or seems to know who I am." He then orders Ariel to fetch his hat and rapier, in order that he may hasten the recognition by appearing as in the old days at Milan. The speech is somewhat awkward, but I see no clear evidence of corruption. [They cannot be expected to know him before they look at him. We must, therefore, read "e'er."—S. A. T.]

V. i, 143-146.—

> "Welcome, my friends all,
> But you, my brace of Lords, were I so minded
> I heere could pluke his Highnesse frowne vpon you
> And iustifie you Traitors."

Observing that "Prospero would not have included the villains Sebastian and Antonio among his friends," Dr. Tannenbaum would read:

> "Welcome, my friends—[*aside to Seb, and Ant.*] all
> But you. My brace of lords, were I so minded," etc.

The suggested emendation does not fall trippingly from the tongue of anyone who tries to recite it aloud as a dramatic speech in blank verse. The relation between metrical and logical structure is intolerably awkward. Since Alonso himself has wronged Prospero, the only person on the stage who deserves Prospero's friendship is Gonzalo. A few lines before, he has been separately embraced, praised, and hailed as "noble friend." Prospero, whose nature includes a rich vein of irony, now turns to the other characters. "Welcome, my friends all!" he says with a smile of quiet sarcasm. Then, lest Antonio and Sebastian should think him unaware of their plot against Alonso, he drops his irony and whispers his cutting aside to the "brace of lords." [But Prospero

would not have indulged in irony at this time. The moment was too serious for that.—S. A. T.]

I have restricted myself to a consideration of passages in which, with one possible exception, the readings of the Folio can so easily be defended as to make emendation wholly unnecessary. There are also several border-line cases where the student must choose between caution and boldness in dealing with the text. My own preference is for the former. Out of a total of forty-six suggestions offered by Dr. Tannenbaum, twenty-two are in my opinion wholly sound. By this I mean that they solve real though often very minor problems with the aid of the author's expert knowledge of Elizabethan script and writing habits. The genuine importance of Dr. Tannenbaum's contribution to the textual study of *The Tempest* should not have been marred by the inclusion of so much material that illustrates the perils rather than the virtues of his method.

In these remarks my sole intention has been to defend a principle which I believe to be absolutely essential to good textual criticism. For Dr. Tannenbaum, as the pre-eminent authority in his special field, I have the warmest admiration. Every serious student of Shakespeare is deeply in his debt. I would merely remind him, in all friendliness and respect, that his position as an expert entails grave responsibilities. No one is better qualified to prevent us from indulging in subjective daydreams about the text of Shakespeare; no one is better qualified to solve such riddles as arise from the peculiarities of Elizabethan handwriting. For those very reasons we are justified in expecting him to set us a high example of scholarly sobriety. He has mastered the technique of a delicate tool that is extremely valuable when there is a bit of repair work to be done. Let us hope that he will not dull its fine edge by wielding it when there is nothing to repair.

[After carefully weighing Professor Fairchild's very friendly objections to some of my emendations, I am compelled to say—with some reluctance—that I do not think he has weakened any of them, with the exception of "strangely" in IV. i, 7-9. Hamlet's "O all you host of heaven! O earth/" is not in the remotest degree parallel to Ferdinand's "O heaven; O earth!" The fact that a passage in the Folio makes tolerably good sense is no reason for retaining it if it can be improved. In no instance are we sure that we have Shakspere's and not the printer's word. Obviously, a printer would have tried to make some kind of sense out of what he did not understand or could not read. But for the Quartos our modern texts would contain hundreds of erroneous readings authorized by the Folio. Whether an emendation is really an improvement must be judged by the reader who has been trained to weigh textual problems. It is permissible and sound scholarship to emend any "awkward" passage in the Folio from which a meaning can be wrested only by juggling with the words and disregarding probability, especially if the emendation is made in accordance with scientific principles and with a due regard to probability. The laissez-faire principle is responsible for the retention of many absurdities in Shakspere. It often leads to fantastic explanations, *e.g.*, that the three *t*'s in IV. i, 234, help to convey the notion of stealth. The conspirators are too drunk to walk tiptoe. If they were sober enough to do that, they would not be talking so much. I may note, by the way, that "bibliotics" has nothing to do with emendations; "paleography" and "bibliotics" are not the same. And as to the "very minor problems": to the scholar nothing is trivial if principles and ideals are involved.—S. A. T.]

The "Valley" in "The Winters Tale"

By S. A. TANNENBAUM

RUNNING down the meaning of an obscure word in Shakspere is sometimes as exciting an adventure as solving a textual crux. One learns things one has not known before, besides realizing the ignorance or complacency—and, sometimes, the perversity and stupidity—of commentators and editors; but, most thrilling of all, one is brought again and again to marvel at that unique phenomenon: William Shakspere. A case in point relates to the very simple word "valley." In *The Winter's Tale,* our readers may recall, the kindly old Paulina, in great excitement, brings the newborn Perdita to her father, who disclaims paternity of the pretty babe. Undaunted, she replies (II. iii, 123-129, Furness):

> It is yours;
> And—might we lay th' old proverb to your charge—
> So like you, 'tis the worse. Behold, my Lords,
> Although the print be little, the whole matter
> A[1] copy of the father: eye, nose, lip,
> The trick of's frown, his forehead, nay, the valley,
> The pretty dimples of his chin and cheek, his smiles,
> The very mold and frame of hand, nail, finger.

The word "valley" has puzzled the commentators. From Furness we learn that Thomas Hanmer thought it necessary to change the word to "valleys," standing in apposition to "the pretty dimples" in the next line, and was followed by some very competent editors, including Dyce and Hudson. Dr. Furness himself approved of the change, although, said he, in his customary whimsical style, valley "may well refer to some characteristic of a frowning forehead (which, let us hope, Perdita outgrew)." Other editors were, as usual, silent. Discussing this subject in the pages of the *Philological Quarterly* in 1928, I suggested that Shakspere's word meant the groove in the middle of the upper lip, and that emendation was unnecessary. In support of this view I cited the fact that modern anatomists call this groove the "philtrum" (a Latin word meaning "a love charm") and that a seventeenth-century anatomist, Dr. Thomas Gibson, called it "the groove." To my regret, I could not find a parallel use of the word "valley" in any dictionary, not even in the *Oxford.*

Three years after the publication of my essay, the "new" Cambridge editors, Messrs. Quiller-Couch and Wilson, published their edition of *The*

[1] The original reads "And," a common error for "A" in the First Folio.

Winter's Tale. These editors were clearly not favorably disposed to my suggestion, if they saw it, for on page 149 of their book Dr. Wilson, the brilliant annotator of this series, says: "*the valley.* Perhaps the cleft of the chin," although "the pretty dimple of his [Leontes'] chin" is mentioned in line 128.

That Shakspere made no mistake in writing "valley," and that his printers did not distort a non-existent "valleys" into "valley," will appear from the following proof that in the sixteenth century the groove in the upper lip was known as the valley and was considered one of woman's prettiest charms, hence the name "philtrum." In 1531 there was published at Rome a Latin work on "beauty" (*De Pulchro Liber,* by Dr. Augustinus Niphus, court physician to Queen Joan of Arragon, a famous beauty), which some consider the earliest work on esthetics. Describing the marvellous beauty of this queen, a notorious voluptuary, the learned doctor says (on Folio vi, Sig. Bii): "Vallecula, que inter nasum, et os est interposita, diuina quadam proportione formata est," that is, "the little valley which is interposed between the nose and the mouth is formed with divine proportions." It is interesting to note that a modern French writer, J. Houdoy, writing on feminine beauty (*La Beauté des Femmes,* 1876), translates the above passage as follows: "la petite vallée qui sépare de nez de la lèvre supérieure est d'une courbe divine."

But is it not possible, the hypercritical reader may ask, that Dr. Nifo (or Niphus) used a word which had no currency and which he invented for the occasion? That this was not so may be inferred from this: Cotgrave's *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1604) defines the French word "Philtre" as "the hollow, or gutter of the vpper lip," showing that the groove in the lip had a popular name. That this groove, the philtrum, was known to the medical profession also as the "vallecula" (or "vallicula"), the little valley, is proved by the occurrence of this word in a number of old works on anatomy. Thus, for example, Caspar Bohin's *Theatrum Anatomicum,* published at Frankfort, in 1605, describing this groove says (page 878), in Latin, "the philtron, a depression in the likeness of a little valley" ("valliculae instar impressa PHILTRON [in Greek] quasi amatorium vel amabile dixeris"). Shakspere's son-in-law, we may recall, was a physician. The poet may, therefore, have seen the word in some book on anatomy, unless, as is very likely, the "valley" was in general use as the name for the groove in the upper lip.

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